

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

FILED  
JUL 17 2003  
U.S. DISTRICT COURT  
DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS  
BOSTON

MAGALY CAMACHO, et al.

Plaintiffs

v.

WILLIAM FRANCIS GALVIN,  
in his official capacity as Secretary of the  
Commonwealth of Massachusetts,

Defendant.

**CIVIL ACTION NO. 2002-10428-DPW**

BLACK POLITICAL TASK FORCE, et al

Plaintiffs,

v.

WILLIAM FRANCIS GALVIN, in his capacity  
as Secretary of the Commonwealth of  
Massachusetts,

Defendant.

**CIVIL ACTION NO. 2002-11190 DPW**

**AFFIDAVIT OF HAROLD W. STANLEY**

July 10, 2003

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Background and Experience .....	1
Purpose of the Report.....	2
Statistical Methods.....	2
Regression Analysis.....	2
Extreme Case Analysis .....	4
Data Analyzed.....	5
Census Data .....	5
Boston: Blacks .....	5
Boston Hispanics .....	5
Chelsea: Hispanics.....	7
Regression Estimates: Voter Registration by Ethnic Group, Boston and Chelsea.....	8
Spanish Surname Analyses of Voter Registration by Ethnic Group .....	9
Boston: Spanish Surname Analysis of Voter Registration .....	9
Chelsea: Spanish Surname Analysis of Voter Registration.....	10
Turnout by Racial and Ethnic Groups .....	11
Candidates of Choice, Political Cohesion, and Politically Significant Racially and Ethnically Polarized Voting.....	12
District 2.....	13
District 5.....	13
District 6.....	14
District 9.....	14
District 11.....	15

District 12.....	15
District 14.....	15
District 15.....	15
Summary: Candidates of Choice and Politically Significant Racially and Ethnically Polarized Voting .....	16
Proportionality .....	17
Conclusion .....	19
Attachments:	
Appendix 1- Curriculum Vitae	
Appendix 2- Suffolk County House of Representatives Election Analysis: Regression	
Appendix 3- Suffolk County House Districts ( 2001 Plan), Total and Voting Age Populations, 2000 Census	

I, Harold W. Stanley, of Dallas, Texas, hereby depose and state as follows:

**Background and Experience**

1. I hold the Geurin-Pettus Distinguished Chair in American Politics and Political Economy at Southern Methodist University ("SMU") in Dallas, Texas. I assumed this tenured professorship in the summer of 2003.
2. Prior to beginning my employment at SMU, I was a Professor of Political Science at the University of Rochester in Rochester, N.Y. from 1998 through June 2003. I was an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Rochester from 1988-1998, an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Rochester from 1982-1988 and an Instructor of Political Science at the University of Rochester from 1979-1982. I was the Chairman the Political Science Department at the University of Rochester from 1996-1999.
3. I received my Ph.D. in Political Science from Yale University in 1981. I received a M.Phil from Oxford College in Politics in 1975. I received a B.A. in Political Science, Honors with Distinction, *magna cum laude*, from Yale University in 1972. I graduated from Yale in 1972 *Phi Beta Kappa* and was a Rhodes Scholar from 1972-1975.
4. I have written numerous books, book chapters and articles on political science topics. These publications are identified in my Curriculum Vitae, which is annexed hereto as Appendix 1.
5. I teach in the fields of American government, political parties and elections, southern politics and data analysis.
6. I served as the President of the Southern Political Science Association from 2000-2001 and was President-Elect of that organization from 1999-2000. As set forth in my CV, I have held numerous other positions with this organization.
7. I have served on the Editorial Board of the *American Review of Politics* since 1994. I served on the Editorial Board of the *Journal of Politics* from 1991-2000.
8. Since 1986, I have testified in approximately 20 Voting Rights Act cases and consulted in approximately an additional 28 Voting Rights Act cases. The Voting Rights Act cases in which I have either testified or consulted, are identified on pages 4-5 of my CV, which is annexed hereto as Appendix 1.
9. I have been retained by the United States District Courts for the Southern and Middle Districts of Alabama to serve as the court's own expert in four Voting Rights Act cases. In *Wesch v. Hunt*, 785 F. Supp. 2d. 1491 (S.D. Ala. 1992) and *Douglas v. Alabama* ( M.D. Ala. 2002), I served as the federal court's own expert for the three-judge court hearing in those congressional redistricting cases. In *Montiel v. Davis*, 215 F. Supp. 2d. 1279 (S.D. Ala. 2002) (State Board of Education districts) and in *Wilson v. Jones*, 130 F. Supp. 2d. 115 (S.D. Ala. 2000) (Dallas County Commission districts), I have also served as the federal court's own expert.
10. I have been admitted as an expert witness in numerous cases on the subject matters of voting and elections and the statistical analysis of political behavior.

11. I am being compensated at the rate of \$200 an hour plus expenses.

### **Purpose of the Report**

12. Utilizing the standard methods of analysis in voting rights cases to analyze voting in elections in the cities of Boston and Chelsea, this report sets out conclusions about political participation, the patterns of voting by racial/ethnic group, and the opportunities for black voters and Hispanic voters to participate in politics and elect candidates of their choice in House of Representatives districts in Boston and the opportunities for Hispanic voters to participate in politics and elect candidates of their choice in the House of Representatives district that encompasses most of the City of Chelsea, Suffolk House District 2.

13. For this report, I have been asked by attorneys for the defendant to conduct analyses of the patterns of voting of blacks and Hispanics in House of Representative elections in the cities of Boston and Chelsea, to analyze U.S. Census Bureau data on citizenship in the two cities, and to discuss the opportunity of black and Hispanic voters to elect their candidates of choice in House of Representative elections the City of Boston and of Hispanic voters to elect their candidates of choice in the House of Representative district that encompasses most of the City of Chelsea, Suffolk House District 2.

14. Such analysis of the patterns of voting by racial or ethnic groups can help determine for black, Hispanic, and other voters the extent of voter cohesion, political participation rates, voter support levels for each candidate, the extent of racially or ethnically polarized voting, and the candidates of choice.

### **Statistical Methods**

15. Regression analysis and extreme case (or homogeneous precinct) analysis are the standard statistical methods used in voting rights cases to estimate the pattern of the vote by racial or ethnic groups.

### **Regression Analysis**

16. The regression method employed was a two-equation regression method, the dominant, prevailing method utilized in previous voting rights cases and the one used by Professor Bernard Grofman in the case leading to *Thornburg v. Gingles*.<sup>1</sup> Regression analysis can estimate the voter registration and turnout of a racial or ethnic group as well as the vote a candidate received from a group. This report details the racial and ethnic patterns of the vote for House of Representative districts in the cities of Boston and Chelsea.

---

<sup>1</sup> See Bernard Grofman, Michael Migalski, and Nicholas Noviello, "The 'Totality of Circumstances Test' in Section 2 of the 1982 Extension of the Voting Rights Act: A Social Science Perspective," 7.2 *Law & Policy*, April 1985, 199-223, for an elaboration. The two equation method requires the same denominator in the dependent and independent variables. In the analyses that use black or Hispanic shares of the voting-age population, the denominator would be voting-age population in each precinct and the dependent variable would be votes cast for a candidate in the precinct divided by the precinct's total voting-age population.

17. Regression analysis utilizes data from all precincts. The regression analyses were weighted by the total voting-age population of precincts.

18. Ideally, rather than relying on voting-age population data by precinct, citizen voting-age population data from the U.S. Census would be used since it is a more accurate indicator of a group's potential voting strength.<sup>2</sup>

19. Regression analysis can estimate how voters in different groups voted, regression analysis cannot tell you *why* they voted as they did. Reporting the patterns of the voting by racial and ethnic groups does not mean that race or ethnicity *caused* those patterns. Understanding the racial and ethnic patterns of the vote is only one piece of the political puzzle that needs unraveling to understand why some candidates win and some candidates lose. (A candidate may not conduct a campaign that would give him a reasonable opportunity to win an election, may not endorse popular policies, may not support the majority's ideological perspectives, may not recognize the strength of an incumbent's appeal, and so forth). One cannot conclude on the basis of regression analysis alone that animus or antagonism on racial or ethnic grounds accounted for the defeat of a losing candidate.

20. As is well known, estimates generated by regression are not constrained to range within the logical bounds of 0 and 100 percent support. Indeed, some of the estimates produced are negative and other estimates, if taken literally, suggest that a candidate received more than 100 percent support from a group's voters at the polls. The most Hispanic precincts were under 60 percent in Boston and under 70 percent in Chelsea. Since regression estimates turn in part on predicting the vote in a 100 percent Hispanic precinct, these predictions are not constrained by actual vote percentages from any precincts that are almost completely Hispanic. Indeed, there are no percentages from any precincts that are 70 percent or more Hispanic.

21. Moreover, the pattern of the vote and the distribution of the Hispanic voting-age population across precincts, in addition to the relatively greater rates of noncitizenship among Boston and Chelsea Hispanics contrasted with non-Hispanics, mean these standard methods often do not produce valid estimates of Hispanic voter participation and support. This unreliability for citywide elections can become even more severe when analysis is restricted to a particular House of Representatives district. Indeed, on occasion, the standard methods do not produce valid estimates of non-Hispanic black voting patterns.

22. The particular distribution of the Hispanic population across precincts in the cities of Boston and Chelsea, in combination with the actual vote in those precincts, meant the standard methods relied upon in voting rights cases were not able to produce valid estimates of Hispanic turnout (as noted above) or Hispanic support for particular candidates. The signs of such invalid estimates were negative turnout or negative roll-on (roll-on is the percentage of a group's voting-age population estimated to have cast a ballot for the candidates in the contest).

23. This failure to produce valid estimates became even more severe when the analysis was restricted to House districts containing even fewer precincts, thus reducing the overall distribution

---

<sup>2</sup> Citizenship data from the 2000 Census that could be used to determine racial and ethnic citizen voting-age populations in the precincts were not available in time for this report. If such data becomes available, supplementary analyses based on precinct-level citizen voting-age population will be offered.

of the Hispanic population. In presenting these voting patterns in elections to the House of Representatives districts in the City of Boston and the House of Representatives district that encompasses most of the City of Chelsea, Suffolk House District 2, as shown in Appendix 2, these invalid results are presented, but the Hispanic column contains “\*\*\*\*” to designate the unreliability of all estimates in that column for that particular contest. On occasion, the same problem afflicts voting patterns of non-Hispanic blacks in House of Representatives district contests. In such cases, the non-Hispanic black column contains “\*\*\*\*” to designate the invalidity of all estimates in the non-Hispanic black column for that particular contest.

24. In some instances the standard methods relied upon in voting rights cases generated estimates that did not indicate negative turnout or negative roll-on, but the rates of turnout or roll-on were incredible, being so relatively high for a particular contest that they did not comport with the understanding political scientists have for group political participation in such elections. These instances, shown in Appendix 2, occur in Suffolk County House of Representatives District 5 general election contests of 1996, 2000, and 2002. Estimates for these elections have Hispanic turnout ranging from 33.26 (2002) to 35.56 (1996) to 44.23 (2000) percent of Hispanic voting-age population, surpassing slightly corresponding non-Hispanic black turnout figures and far surpassing turnout of non-Hispanic, non-blacks. Since citizens made up only 58.08 percent of the Boston Hispanic voting-age population, these figures suggest 57 to 76 percent of the Hispanic citizen voting-age population turned out in these elections, estimates that seem too high to be fully credited.

### **Extreme case analysis**

25. Extreme case analysis is often used as a check on the results of regression analysis. Extreme case analysis is a method relying exclusively on the extreme precincts in which one racial or ethnic group dominates the population composition, typically 90 percent or more of the voting-age population. This method is also called homogenous precinct analysis. Such analysis resembles the scrutiny of election results by lay people.

26. Unfortunately, no Suffolk County House of Representatives district in Boston contains extreme case precincts for both races, that is white and black precincts that are 90 percent or more one race. Hence, no comparison of voting patterns for blacks and whites in a particular House of Representatives contest could be conducted here as a check on the results from regression analysis.

27. No extreme case analysis could be conducted for Hispanics in the cities of Boston or Chelsea because the cities of Boston and Chelsea have no appropriately homogenous Hispanic precincts. In Boston, the most Hispanic precinct is less than 59 percent Hispanic in total voting-age population. In Chelsea, the most Hispanic precinct is under 70 percent Hispanic in total voting-age population. The presence of 30 or 41 percent non-Hispanics would dilute the perspective one seeks on Hispanic participation through extreme case analysis. Moreover, the relatively high rates of non-citizenship among Hispanics of voting age in Boston and Chelsea suggest that the Hispanic political presence in these precincts is less than the total voting-age population share for Hispanics.

## Data Analyzed

28. I requested and received election returns data for House of Representatives elections in the City of Boston and the House of Representatives district that encompasses most of Chelsea, Suffolk County House District 2. Election Data Services furnished census data on the racial and ethnic composition of the precincts as well as election data from returns provided by attorneys in the case. Racial and ethnic identifications of the individual candidates were provided by attorneys in the case.

29. The elections analyzed include Suffolk County House of Representatives districts that include the City of Boston and the House of Representatives district that encompasses most of Chelsea, Suffolk County House District 2.

## Census Data

### Boston: Blacks

30. U.S. Census data reveals that the total non-Hispanic black population in the City of Boston stood at 136,887 in 1990 and 151,246 in 2000. (This 2000 figure gives the count for all non-Hispanic persons categorized as black or African-American in response to any of the race questions on the 2000 census.) In percentage terms, non-Hispanic blacks made up 23.84 percent of the total population in 1990, 25.67 percent in 2000.

31. Of the voting-age population in the City of Boston in 2000, non-Hispanic blacks made up 22.07 percent. In 1990, non-Hispanic blacks made up 20.20 percent of the voting-age population.

32. Non-Hispanic Black, total, and voting-age populations, City of Boston, U.S. Census, 1990-2000

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>			<i>Voting-age</i>		
	Total	Black	Percent Black	Total	Black	Percent Black
1990	574,283	136,887	23.84	464,450	93,832	20.20
2000	589,141	151,246	25.67	472,582	104,285	22.07

*Note:* These figures for blacks give the count for all non-Hispanic blacks. In 2000, blacks are those non-Hispanics categorized as black or African-American in response to any of the race questions on the 2000 census. 1990 Census voting-age population data are preliminary sample based and subject to minor changes.

*Source:* U.S. Bureau of the Census data for 1990 and 2000 as reported by Election Data Services.

### Boston: Hispanics

33. The Hispanic population of the City of Boston, 61,955 in 1990, increased to 85,089 in 2000. Hispanics made up 10.79 percent of the total population in 1990, 14.44 percent in 2000.

(These figures count as Hispanic all persons who answered Hispanic in response to the census ethnicity question in 2000 without regard to how these individuals classified themselves racially.)

34. Hispanics made up 9.07 percent of the voting-age population in the City of Boston in 1990, 12.12 percent in 2000.

35. Hispanic, total, and voting-age populations, City of Boston, U.S. Census, 1990-2000

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>				<i>Voting-age</i>		
	Total	Hispanic	Percent Hispanic		Total	Hispanic	Percent Hispanic
1990	574,283	61,955	10.79		464,450	42,119	9.07
2000	589,141	85,089	14.44		472,582	57,258	12.12

*Note:* These figures for Hispanics count as Hispanic all persons who answered Hispanic in response to the census ethnicity question without regard to how these individuals classified themselves racially.

*Source:* U.S. Bureau of the Census data for 1990 and 2000 as reported by Election Data Services.

36. Citizenship data from the 2000 Census indicate that while Hispanics made up 12.12 percent of the voting-age population in the City of Boston, Hispanic citizens made up only 8.65 percent of the citizen voting-age population.

37. Expressed differently, the U.S. Census in 2000 found that 82.11 percent of voting-age persons in the City of Boston were citizens. Among non-Hispanics, 85.45 percent of voting-age persons were citizens, but among Hispanics, only 58.08 percent of voting-age persons were citizens.

38. Hispanic citizen voting-age population, City of Boston, U.S. Census, 2000

<i>Year</i>	<i>Citizen voting-age</i>		
	Total	Hispanic	Percent Hispanic
2000	388,580	33,595	8.65

*Note:* These figures for Hispanics count as Hispanic all persons who answered Hispanic in response to the census ethnicity question without regard to how these individuals classified themselves racially. The Census Bureau bases citizenship counts on sample data.

*Source:* U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2002. Voting Rights Special Tabulation VROUTFSJC.TXT delivered by the Census Redistricting Data Office to the U.S. Department of Justice, dated July 16, 2002.

### **Chelsea: Hispanics**

39. The Hispanic population of the City of Chelsea, 9,018 in 1990, increased to 16,984 in 2000. Hispanics made up 31.41 percent of the total population in 1990, 48.42 percent in 2000. (These figures count as Hispanic all persons who answered Hispanic in response to the census ethnicity question without regard to how these individuals classified themselves racially.)

40. Hispanics made up 26.21 percent of the voting-age population in the City of Chelsea in 1990, 43.61 percent in 2000.

41. Hispanic, total, and voting-age populations, City of Chelsea, U.S. Census, 1990-2000

<i>Population</i>				<i>Voting-age</i>		
<i>Year</i>	Total	Hispanic	Percent Hispanic	Total	Hispanic	Percent Hispanic
1990	28,710	9,018	31.41	21,423	5,614	26.21
2000	35,080	16,984	48.42	25,512	11,126	43.61

*Note:* These figures for Hispanics count as Hispanic all persons who answered Hispanic in response to the census ethnicity question without regard to how these individuals classified themselves racially.

*Source:* U.S. Bureau of the Census data for 1990 and 2000 as reported by Election Data Services.

42. Citizenship data from the 2000 Census indicate that while Hispanics make up 43.61 percent of the voting-age population in the City of Chelsea, Hispanic citizens make up about only 29.40 percent of the citizen voting-age population.

43. Expressed differently, the U.S. Census in 2000 found that 65.56 percent of voting-age persons in the City of Chelsea were citizens. Among non-Hispanics, 82.13 percent of voting-age persons were citizens, but among Hispanics, only 44.17 percent of voting-age persons were citizens.

44. Hispanic citizen voting-age population, City of Chelsea, U.S. Census, 2000

	<i>Citizen voting-age</i>		
<i>Year</i>	Total	Hispanic	Percent Hispanic
2000	16,735	4,920	29.40

*Note:* These figures for Hispanics count as Hispanic all persons who answered Hispanic in response to the census ethnicity question without regard to how these individuals classified themselves racially. The Census Bureau bases citizenship counts on sample data.

*Source:* U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2002. Voting Rights Special Tabulation VROUTFSJC.TXT delivered by the Census Redistricting Data Office to the U.S. Department of Justice, dated July 16, 2002.

**Regression Estimates: Voter Registration by Ethnic Group, Boston and Chelsea**

45. Voter registration is one indicator of political opportunity, access, and participation. Official voter registration data for the Cities of Boston and Chelsea do not include racial or ethnic identification of voters. The same regression methods used to produce estimates of voting patterns for racial or ethnic groups can produce estimates of registration rates.

46. The table below reveals the results of a regression analysis for registration rates by race and ethnic group in the 2002 general election in Boston and in the 2001 general election in Chelsea.

47. In Boston, non-Hispanic whites<sup>3</sup> and non-Hispanic blacks are estimated to be registered at similar rates—56 and 57 percent of the voting-age population, respectively. These registration estimates show that non-Hispanic blacks have the opportunity to participate in the political process. Only 20 percent of the total Hispanic voting-age population is estimated to be registered. (The relatively greater non-citizenship rates of the Hispanic voting-age population compared to the non-Hispanic voting-age population in Boston lowers the Hispanic percentage.)

48. In Chelsea, for the 2001 general election, regression estimates that 49 percent of non-Hispanic voting-age whites are registered but only 6 percent of voting-age Hispanics. One year later, in the 2002 general election, regression estimates higher figures—77 percent of non-Hispanic voting-age whites registered and 19 percent of voting-age Hispanics. (Again, the relatively greater non-citizenship rates of the Hispanic voting-age population compared to the non-Hispanic voting-age population in Chelsea lowers the Hispanic percentage.)

---

<sup>3</sup> For the sake of brevity, “non-Hispanic whites” used throughout this report refers to non-Hispanic, non-black persons.

49. Regression estimates of voter registration by racial and ethnic group, Boston and Chelsea

<i>City / Year</i>	<i>Percent of Voting-age Population Registered</i>		
	Non-Hispanic White	Non-Hispanic Black	Hispanic
Boston, 11/5/2002	56	57	20
Chelsea, 11/6/2001	49	--	6
Chelsea, 11/5/2002	77	--	19

50. Without citizenship data at the precinct level, we cannot make regression estimates for registration rates of the citizen voting-age population, but taking the 20, 6, and 19 percentage point figures in the above table and, using the previously discussed citizenship rates for Hispanics in Boston and Chelsea, a rough approximation of the share of Hispanic citizen voting-age population that is registered can be calculated: 34 percent in Boston ( $20 / 58 = 34\%$ , registration percentage from paragraph 41, citizen voting-age percentage from paragraph 29; 14 or 43 percent in Chelsea ( $6 / 44 = 14\%$ ,  $19 / 44 = 43\%$ , registration percentage from paragraph 41, citizen voting-age percentage from paragraph 35).

### **Spanish Surname Analyses of Voter Registration by Ethnic Group**

51. Given the difficulty of securing valid regression results for Hispanics in the cities of Boston and Chelsea, other methods to discern the political participation rates of Hispanics should be employed.

52. Another method frequently used to estimate Hispanic political participation involves an examination of voter registration rolls to discern registrants with recognized Spanish surnames. (Hispanics without a recognized Spanish surname or non-Hispanics with recognized Spanish surnames would be mis-categorized by this method.) Peter Morrison conducted a Spanish surname analysis for the cities of Boston and Chelsea.

53. Here the Spanish surname analysis is being reported not because it is unquestionably valid, but because it is yet another method frequently used in voting rights cases involving Hispanics. Since there are problems with using regression analyses in Boston and Chelsea, this alternative method was employed. Based on my political science knowledge perspective, I note that some of the surname analysis results for Hispanics seem too high to be fully credited (for example, the 70 percent Hispanic registration noted in paragraph 65).

### **Boston: Spanish Surname Analysis of Voter Registration**

54. A Spanish surname analysis of the voter registration list for November 20, 2002 for Boston finds 18,983 registrants with Spanish surnames and 244,029 without Spanish surnames. In total, there were 263,012 registered voters.

55. Using these Spanish surname counts of the voter registration list along with the most recently available data from the 2000 U.S. Census on voting-age population figures for Hispanics and non-Hispanics allows calculation of composition rates and participation rates—Hispanic shares of registered voters and the registration rate of the voting-age populations. For these calculations, it is assumed Spanish surnamed individuals can be equated with Hispanic counts from the census and non-Spanish surnamed registrants can be equated with non-Hispanics counts from the census.

56. Individuals with Spanish surnames made up 7.2 percent of all registered voters in Boston in 2002. By contrast, Hispanics made up 12.1 percent of the total voting-age population in Boston in the 2000 census. A more appropriate benchmark (since non-citizens cannot register) would be citizen voting-age population from the 2000 census: Hispanics made up 8.6 percent of the total citizen voting-age population in Boston according to the 2000 U.S. Census.

57. Spanish surname analysis reveals that for Boston in 2002, Spanish surnamed individuals make up a share of the registered voters that resembles the Hispanic share of the citizen voting-age population, indicative of an opportunity to participate in the political process.

58. The contrast with the total voting-age population reveals 33.2 percent of Hispanics were registered ( $18,983 / 57,258 = 33.2$  percent, registrants from paragraph 46, voting-age population from paragraph 24). The corresponding figures were 58.8 percent of the non-Hispanics. The relatively greater non-citizenship rates of Hispanics compared to non-Hispanics lower the Hispanic percentage. These rates for Hispanics exceed the 20 percent figure derived from regression analysis.

59. Expressed as a percentage of the citizen voting-age population, 56.5 percent of Hispanic citizens of voting age were registered, contrasted with 68.7 percent of non-Hispanic citizens of voting age. ( $18,983 / 33,595 = 56.5$ , registrants from paragraph 54, citizen voting-age population from paragraph 38)

### **Chelsea: Spanish Surname Analysis of Voter Registration**

60. A Spanish surname analysis of the voter registration list for February 13, 2003 for Chelsea finds 3,444 registrants with Spanish surnames and 7,997 with non-Spanish surnames. In total, there were 11,441 registered voters.

61. Again, using these Spanish surname counts of the voter registration list along with the most recently available data from the 2000 U.S. Census on voting-age population figures for Hispanics and non-Hispanics allows calculation of composition rates and participation rates—Hispanic shares of registered voters and the registration rate of the voting-age populations. For these calculations, it is assumed Spanish surnamed individuals can be equated with Hispanic

counts from the census and non-Spanish surnamed registrants can be equated with non-Hispanics counts from the census.

62. Individuals with Spanish surnames made up 30.1 percent of all registered voters in Chelsea in 2003. By contrast, Hispanics made up 43.6 percent of the total voting-age population in Chelsea in the 2000 census.

63. A more appropriate benchmark (since non-citizens cannot register to vote) would be citizen voting-age population: individuals with Spanish surnames made up 30.1 percent of all registered voters in Chelsea in 2003, a figure slightly above the 29.4 percent share Hispanics made up of the total citizen voting-age population in Chelsea according to the 2000 U.S. Census.

64. Although the contrast with the total voting-age population reveals that in 2003 31.0 percent of Hispanics were registered and 55.6 percent of the non-Hispanics, the relatively greater non-citizenship rates of the Hispanic voting-age population compared to the non-Hispanic voting-age population lowers the Hispanic percentage. Even so, the 31.0 percent estimate from Spanish surname analysis strongly exceeds the corresponding 6 percent figure for Hispanics from regression analysis for 2001 in Chelsea. Hispanic mobilization could have raised the figure in 2003 over that for 2001, or continued Hispanic post-census in-migration could help account for a larger Hispanic presence on the registration rolls than precinct census data predicted.

65. Expressed as a percentage of the citizen voting-age population, Hispanic citizens in 2003 in Chelsea had a slightly higher rate of registration: 70.0 percent of Hispanic citizens of voting age were registered, contrasted with 67.7 percent of non-Hispanic citizens of voting age ( $3,444 / 4,920 = 70\%$ , registrants from paragraph 60, citizen voting-age population from paragraph 44). Such parity in rates, indeed, a slight Hispanic lead, is firmly indicative of an equal opportunity to participate in the political process.

66. Spanish-surname analyses of voter registration by Hispanics and Non-Hispanics, Boston and Chelsea

<i>City / Year</i>	<i>Percent of Voting-age Population Registered</i>		<i>Percent of Citizen Voting-age Population Registered</i>	
	Non-Spanish Surname	Spanish Surname	Non-Spanish Surname	Spanish Surname
Boston, 11/20/2002	58.8	33.2	68.7	56.5
Chelsea, 2/13/2003	55.6	31.0	67.7	70.0

*Source:* Spanish surname analysis conducted by Peter Morrison on voter registration files for Boston and Chelsea.

67. Results of these registration analyses show that Hispanics in Boston and Chelsea and non-Hispanic blacks in Boston have the opportunity to participate in the political process.

## Turnout by Racial and Ethnic Groups

68. The Voting Rights Act concerns an equal opportunity to participate in politics and to elect candidates of choice. The same methods that estimate voting patterns and voter registration rates can also estimate turnout rates by racial and ethnic group. Turnout rates of registered voters by racial and ethnic group reveal the relative mobilization of non-Hispanic blacks, Hispanics, and non-Hispanic whites. Voter turnout rates are calculated here as a percentage of total voting-age population. These rates do not reflect the impact of differential citizenship rates on political participation. Consequently, one would expect Hispanic turnout to lag behind non-Hispanic black and non-Hispanic white rates.

69. Regression estimates of voter turnout by racial and ethnic group, Boston and Chelsea

<i>City / Year</i>	<i>Percent of Voting-age Population Voting</i>		
	<i>Non-Hispanic White</i>	<i>Non-Hispanic Black</i>	<i>Hispanic</i>
Boston, 11/5/2002	35.6	27.7	--
Boston, 11/6/2001	20.7	18.9	--
Chelsea, 11/6/2001	13.1	--	5.5
Chelsea, 11/2/1999	18.3	--	5.2

*Note:* Valid estimates of citywide Hispanic turnout in the City of Boston were not obtained from the standard methods used in voting rights cases.

70. The lack of citizen voting-age population data by precinct and the greater rate of noncitizenship among Hispanics means the inclusion of noncitizens in the above table dampens Hispanic turnout estimates by comparison with non-Hispanic white and non-Hispanic black estimates.

## Candidates of Choice, Political Cohesion and Politically Significant Racially and Ethnically Polarized Voting

71. For the sake of brevity, in the following discussion of the elections analyses contained in Appendix 2, racial and ethnic groups are referred to as “black,” “Hispanic,” or “white.” More precisely, these three groups are non-Hispanic black who (in the 2000 U.S. Census) list black as any one of the racial responses, Hispanics regardless of racial designation, and all other persons who are non-Hispanic and non-black (most of whom are non-Hispanic whites).

72. In identifying the candidate of choice of a racial or ethnic group, such a candidate need not be a member of that group. For example, a non-Hispanic candidate can be the candidate of choice of Hispanic voters.

73. If racially polarized voting is taken to mean black and non-black voters voting differently and ethnically polarized voting is taken to mean Hispanic and non-Hispanic voters voting differently, then the election contests reported in Appendix 2 provide instances of different

candidates of choice for black and non-black voters as well as Hispanic and non-Hispanic voters. However, there is a difference between racially (or ethnically) polarized voting and politically significant racially (or ethnically) polarized voting. The existence of racially or ethnically polarized voting in these contests does not preclude the election of candidates of choice. In such circumstances, racially (or ethnically) polarized voting is not politically significant.

74. In the subsequent paragraphs, estimates of black, Hispanic, and white voter support are taken from Appendix 2. The estimates are taken from the regression analyses. For instance, in the 1994 Democratic primary in Suffolk County State House District 5, black turnout was estimated to be 11.13 percent of the black voting-age population. Roll-on, that is the percentage of the black voting-age population estimated to have cast a ballot for the candidates in the contest—Golar Richie or Roman—was 5.83 percent for blacks (adding Golar Richie’s 5.93 percent and Roman’s negative 0.10 percent). Roman’s negative 0.10 percent was a logical impossibility that cannot be taken literally. One can infer instead that Golar Richie received a strong black vote and Roman very little. Corresponding white turnout was 5.99, with Roman estimated to have received the most votes from whites, 5.97 percent of the white voting-age population. Because the estimated votes by whites for “blank/other” was negative, roll-on for whites exceeded turnout, another logical impossibility. The Hispanic vote estimates cannot be relied upon at all in this contest as turnout and roll-on are both estimated to be negative. The specific predicted results are presented, even though none of the values in the Hispanic column for this contest have any value.

75. The presence of negative estimates for a candidate’s vote share from a particular group is a regrettable product of the statistical procedures. One cannot take such estimates literally, but the results are presented here to indicate the predictions produced by the methods ordinarily used in voting rights cases.

## **District 2**

76. In the 1996 Democratic primary in Suffolk County House of Representatives District 2, O’Flaherty prevailed over McCabe by 2,706 to 2,555 but O’Flaherty was not the candidate of choice of white voters. Although reliable estimates could not be obtained with regression analysis for black and Hispanic voters, presumably O’Flaherty carried black and Hispanic voters in order to prevail and overcome the fact that he trailed among white voters.

## **District 5**

77. First, primary elections are discussed, then general elections. In Suffolk County House of Representatives District 5, the 1994 primary contest saw most blacks backing Golar Richie.

78. In this 1994 primary, there was no politically significant racially polarized voting in that the candidate of choice of black voters, Golar Richie, prevailed.

79. The District 5 1996 primary contest saw most black voters again backing Golar Richie.

80. In this 1996 primary, there could have been no politically significant racially polarized voting in that the candidate of choice of black voters, Golar Richie, prevailed.

81. In the 1998 primary, whites backed Golar Richie, and blacks split their vote between Garrison and Golar Richie with slightly more backing Garrison. Golar Richie prevailed over Garrison, 1,218 to 887.

82. This is an instance where the black vote split indicating that black voters were not politically cohesive, ruling out a conclusion of politically significant racially polarized voting. Had black voters been more cohesive in their support of Garrison, they could have furnished Garrison a winning margin.

83. In the special primary of 1999, St. Fleur, gaining the most votes from whites (6.68 percent of white voting-age population) and Hispanics (6.66 percent of Hispanic voting-age population), defeated three candidates. The black vote was not cohesive behind a single candidate. Lawton is estimated to have received the most black votes (1.69 percent of black voting-age population), but he was followed closely in black support by St. Fleur (1.53 percent) and Garrison (1.22 percent).

84. In this 1999 special primary, white and Hispanic voters backed the same candidate who prevailed. Black voters again showed less cohesion behind a single preferred candidate. The candidate who did prevail, St. Fleur, placed a close second behind Lawton who garnered a few more black votes. Black and Hispanic voters differed in their support of candidates. The lack of black voter cohesion rules out a conclusion of politically significant racially polarized voting.

85. In Suffolk County State House District 5 in the general elections of 1994 and 1996, the Democratic candidate Golar Richie, the most preferred candidate for white and black voters, prevailed over the Republican Garrison, the most preferred candidate of Hispanic voters.

86. In these two general elections black and Hispanic voters backed different candidates. There was politically significant ethnically polarized voting but no politically significant racially polarized voting.

87. In the special general election of 1999 as well as the general elections of 2000 and 2002, St. Fleur prevailed with the most support from each group: whites, blacks, and Hispanics. Turnout followed ordinary political cycles, with each group's turnout in the presidential election of 2000 exceeding turnout in the mid-term election year of 2002. Turnout lagged considerably for each group in the special general election of 1999.

88. In these three general elections black and Hispanic voters (as well as white voters) backed the same candidate and that was no politically significant polarized voting, either racial or ethnic, because the candidate of choice of black and Hispanic voters prevailed.

#### **District 6**

89. In State House District 6 in the 2000 Democratic primary Owens-Hicks, estimated to have received the most black support, defeated Shillingford who gained the most white support. The vote was not close, with Owens-Hicks winning by 878 to 188.

90. In this general election there was no politically significant racially polarized voting because the candidate of choice of black voters prevailed.

### **District 9**

91. In Suffolk County House of Representatives District 9 in the 1998 primary, Rushing was the preferred candidate of white, black, and Hispanic voters, defeating two white candidates.
92. In this primary election blacks and Hispanics (as well as whites) backed the same candidate and there was no politically significant polarized voting, either racial or ethnic, because the candidate of choice of black and Hispanic voters prevailed.
93. In the 2000 general election, Rushing gained white, black, and Hispanic support to defeat Ashcroft by 7,257 to 1,977.
94. In this general election blacks and Hispanics (as well as whites) backed the same candidate and there was no politically significant polarized voting, either racial or ethnic, because the candidate of choice of black and Hispanic voters prevailed.

### **District 11**

95. In Suffolk County House of Representatives District 11, regression failed to produce valid estimates for blacks or Hispanics in the 1998 special general election, the 1998 primary, and the 2002 primary. This makes consideration of polarized voting and black and Hispanic voting impossible with regression for these contests.
96. Regression did produce valid estimates for blacks and whites from the 1994, 1998 and 2000 general elections. These estimates reveal black and white voters both supported the winning candidates. The prevailing candidate won handily in each election.
97. In these general elections there was no politically significant racially polarized voting, because the candidate of choice of black voters prevailed.

### **District 12**

98. Speaker Finneran's district, now Suffolk County House of Representatives District 12 (previously the 15<sup>th</sup>, then the 13<sup>th</sup>), has not had a contested primary since 1990 or a contested general election since 1992. An analysis of the primary and general election contests in 1990 in Suffolk County House of Representatives District 13 shows Finneran garnered about two-thirds of the total vote in both the primary and general election, being the candidate of choice of white and black voters.
99. In the primary and general election there was no politically significant racially polarized voting, because the candidate of choice of black voters prevailed.

### **District 14**

100. In Suffolk County House of Representatives District 14 in 1996, Scaccia, a Democrat, defeated Donato, a Republican, 7,453 to 5,310. Most white voters and almost all blacks backed Scaccia.

101. In this general election there was no politically significant racially polarized voting because the candidate of choice of black voters prevailed.

### **District 15**

102. In the District 15 1994 Democratic primary more whites backed Fitzgerald than Brookins, while more blacks backed Brookins than Fitzgerald. This was an instance of politically significant racially polarized voting: Fitzgerald, not the candidate of choice of black voters, prevailed by almost two to one.

103. In Suffolk County House of Representatives District 15 in the 1998 general election both blacks and whites backed Fitzgerald, who won handily against Whitney.

104. In this general election there was no politically significant racially polarized voting because the candidate of choice of black voters prevailed.

105. In Suffolk County State House District 15 in the 2002 Democratic primary, Sanchez narrowly lost the white vote to Allan but presumably picked up sufficient black and Hispanic votes to come out ahead. Expressed differently, Sanchez received politically significant white support that, combined with votes from blacks and Hispanics, allowed him to win the primary.

### **Summary: Candidates of Choice and Politically Significant Racially and Ethnically Polarized Voting**

106. The following table summarizes the discussion, indicating that for the Suffolk County House of Representatives elections reviewed, in six contests most black and Hispanic voters supported the same candidate, in four they did not. (For 17 contests valid estimates for both black and Hispanic voting were not available.) In five of the five contests in which black and Hispanic voters supported the same candidate, white voters also supported that candidate. (As shown in the table below, these are the 1999 Special General, 2000 General and 2002 General elections in the 5<sup>th</sup> Suffolk and the 1998 Democratic primary and 2000 General election in the 9<sup>th</sup> Suffolk.)

107. In the 19 contests for which regression analysis yielded reliable estimates, there was only one instance of politically significant racially polarized voting. (In seven contests there were no valid estimates of black voting patterns.)

108. In two cases there was politically significant ethnically polarized voting, in six contests there was not. (For 19 contests valid estimates for Hispanic voting were not available.) In both of these contests marked by politically significant ethnically polarized voting (1994 and 1996 general elections, District 5), blacks and whites voted for the same candidate who won, defeating the candidate backed by Hispanics.

# 109. Election Summary for Suffolk County House of Representatives Districts

<i>District</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Black and Hispanic voters support same candidate?</i>	<i>Politically significant racially polarized voting?</i>	<i>Politically significant ethnically polarized voting?</i>
2	1996	Primary	?	?	?
5	1994	Primary	?	No	?
5	1994	General	No	No	Yes
5	1996	Primary	No	No	?
5	1996	General	No	No	Yes
5	1998	Primary	Yes	No	?
5	1999	Sp.Prim.	No	No	No
5	1999	Sp.Gen.	Yes*	No	No
5	2000	General	Yes*	No	No
5	2002	General	Yes*	No	No
6	2000	Primary	?	No	?
9	1998	Primary	Yes*	No	No
9	2000	General	Yes*	No	No
11	1994	General	?	No	?
11	1998	Sp. Gen.	?	?	?
11	1998	Primary	?	?	?
11	1998	General	?	No	?
11	2000	General	?	No	?
11	2002	Primary	?	?	?
12	1990	Primary	?	No	?
12	1990	General	?	No	?
14	1996	General	?	No	?
15	1994	Primary	?	Yes	?
15	1994	General	?	?	?
15	1998	General	?	No	?
15	2002	Primary	?	?	?
15	2002	General	?	?	?
			?: 17: Yes: 6 No: 4	?: 7 Yes: 1 No: 19	?: 19 Yes: 2 No: 6

Note: “?” indicates no valid estimate produced. “\*” indicates instances in which white voters also backed the same candidate as black and Hispanic voters backed.

## Proportionality

110. The election results for Suffolk County House of Representatives presented in Appendix 2, combined with the racial composition of the districts, provide helpful perspective on the opportunity non-Hispanic black voters have to participate in politics and to elect candidates of choice.

111. In Districts 5, 6, and 9 the election results furnish evidence that non-Hispanic black voters have elected candidates of choice.

112. The invalid estimates regression produces for black voting in the primaries does not provide as clear a perspective as would be desirable, but if Malia's wins in State House district 11 result in part from being the candidate of choice of black voters (as was the case in the general elections) then this district furnishes another instance of black opportunity to elect candidates of choice in Suffolk County House of Representative districts.

113. No post-1993 election results were available for Suffolk County House of Representative Districts 7 and 12, but the high black population percentages of the voting-age population in these districts (42.6 and 52.0 percent, respectively)<sup>4</sup> provide support for the conclusion that in these districts black voters, if politically cohesive, have the opportunity to elect a candidate of choice.

114. This would indicate that non-Hispanic black voters have an opportunity to elect candidates of choice in 6 or the 17 Suffolk County House of Representative districts at issue in this case (35 percent). This percentage is more than proportional to the non-Hispanic black voting-age population in the City of Boston of 22 percent (paragraph 32).

115. For Hispanics, greater residential dispersion (as evidenced in the lack of any precinct with Hispanic voting-age population greater than 60 percent in Boston or 70 percent in Chelsea) challenges anyone seeking to create a district in Suffolk County that is majority Hispanic in voting-age population or citizen voting-age population.

116. Election results, particularly the election in 2002 of a Hispanic candidate, Sanchez, in District 15, a district only 16 percent Hispanic in voting-age population is reflective of the ability of Hispanic candidates to fare well with not only (presumably) Hispanic voters but also non-Hispanic voters. While regression does not provide valid estimates of black or Hispanic voting in District 15 in 2002, if we consider this district one in which Hispanic voters have an opportunity to elect a candidate of choice such as Sanchez, then one out of 17 House districts constitutes 6 percent of the districts, a percentage that compares favorably with the 9.5 percent of the citizen voting-age population that is Hispanic in Boston and Chelsea ( $(33,595+4,920) / (388,580+16,735) = 9.5$  percent; Boston figures from paragraph 30, Chelsea figures from paragraph 36).<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Appendix 3 gives racial and ethnic composition of the House of Representatives districts in Suffolk County according to the 2000 Census, both in terms of total and voting-age populations.

<sup>5</sup> This is not to say that only District 15 provides an opportunity for Hispanic voters to elect candidates of choice.

117. If, despite the evidence of the electoral patterns showing blacks and Hispanics sometimes vote together, sometimes do not, and without conceding the validity of doing so, we consider blacks and Hispanics a unified political force, then the districts discussed above in which blacks or Hispanics have an opportunity to elect candidates of choice (5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, and 15) constitute 7 of the 17 districts or 41 percent.<sup>6</sup>

118. These percentages contrast with a combined non-Hispanic black populations in Chelsea and Boston of 21 percent of the total voting-age population. The combined Hispanic total voting-age population is 14 percent. (The combined Hispanic share of the citizen voting-age population is 9.5 percent.) If the total voting-age population shares of the two groups is combined, the resulting figure is 35 percent. The corresponding figure for the share of the citizen voting-age population would be lower.

## **Conclusion**

119. In my professional opinion, black and Hispanic voters in the City of Boston and Hispanic voters in the City of Chelsea have no less opportunity than others to participate in the political process and to elect candidates of their choice.

120. This report may be supplemented or revised in response to additional issues and information.

---

Hispanics in Districts 1 and 2 compose about one-third of the voting-age population. Hispanics in Districts 5 and 11 constitute a larger percentage of the voting-age population than they do in District 15. All of which suggests that in the years immediately ahead, Hispanic political clout could grow if Hispanics choose to become citizens, register and vote in numbers reflective of their population share, and are politically cohesive. Under these circumstances, Hispanics could become an influential voting bloc in these districts.

<sup>6</sup> At issue in this case are 17 Suffolk County House of Representatives districts—Districts 1 through 15, 17, and 18. Considering that a combined Hispanic and black voting-age population in certain additional districts constitute between 33 and 42 percent, perhaps Districts 1, 2, 13 and 14 may, under the assumption of black and Hispanic political unity, represent districts in which unified and cohesive blacks and Hispanics would have an opportunity to elect candidates of choice. Non-Hispanic blacks and Hispanics can be sufficiently numerous to have a significant impact at the ballot box—savvy candidates would not ignore a sizable voting group since Hispanic and non-Hispanic black voters have the opportunity to form coalitions with other voters to elect candidates of choice. Such potential influence could be considered part of the opportunity racial and ethnic minorities have to participate in politics and elect candidates of choice.


**Attachments:**

Appendix 1 Curriculum Vitae

Appendix 2 (Suffolk County House of Representatives Elections Analysis:Regression

Appendix 3 Suffolk County State House Districts (2001 Plan), Total and Voting-age  
Populations, 2000 Census

Signed under the penalties of perjury, the 8<sup>th</sup> day of July, 2003.

  
Harold W. Stanley



## Harold W. Stanley

## Curriculum Vitae

July 2003

Harold Watkins Stanley

Born 14 June 1950 in Enterprise, Alabama

Geurin-Pettus Distinguished Chair in American Politics and Political Economy, Department of  
Political Science, Southern Methodist University

### UNIVERSITY ADDRESS

Department of Political Science, Southern Methodist University, P.O. Box 750117, Dallas, TX  
75275-0117 (214) 768-2529, 768-2524; fax (214) 768-3469 E-mail: [HStanley@SMU.edu](mailto:HStanley@SMU.edu)

Street address: Department of Political Science, Southern Methodist University, Carr Collins Hall,  
3300 University, Dallas TX 75205

### EDUCATION

Ph.D., Yale, 1981, Political Science

M.Phil., Oxford, 1975, Politics

B.A., Yale, 1972, Political Science, Honors with Distinction, *magna cum laude*

Enterprise public schools, Enterprise, Alabama

### HONORS AND AWARDS

*Who's Who in America*

*Who's Who in the East*

Distinguished Teacher of the Year, University of Rochester Student Association Senate, 1991

*Voter Mobilization and the Politics of Race*, Outstanding Academic Book, *Choice*, May 1989

National Science Foundation Dissertation Research Grant, 1979–80

Prize Teaching Fellowship, Yale, 1978–79

Rhodes Scholarship, 1972–75

National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship, 1972 (declined)

Phi Beta Kappa, 1972

Honors with Exceptional Distinction in Political Science, Yale, 1972

### PUBLICATIONS: BOOKS

*Vital Statistics on American Politics 2003–2004*, CQ Press, forthcoming; 2001–2002, 2001;  
1999–2000, 1999; 1997–1998, 1998; 5<sup>th</sup> edition, 1995; 4<sup>th</sup> edition, 1993; 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 1991;  
2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1990; 1<sup>st</sup> edition, 1988; (with Richard G. Niemi)

*Voter Mobilization and the Politics of Race: The South and Universal Suffrage, 1952–1984*,  
Praeger, 1987

*Senate vs. Governor, Alabama 1971: Referents for Opposition in a One-Party Legislature*,  
University of Alabama Press, 1975

### PUBLICATIONS: JOURNAL ARTICLES

"State Economies and State Taxes: Do Voters Hold Governors Accountable?" *American Journal of  
Political Science*, vol. 39, November 1995, 936–957 (with Richard G. Niemi and Ron Vogel)

"Minority Turnout and the Creation of Majority–Minority Districts," *American Politics Quarterly*,  
vol. 23, April 1995, 190–203 (with Kim Brace, Lisa Handley, and Richard G. Niemi)

"Class Polarization in Partisanship among Native Southern Whites, 1952–1990," *American Journal  
of Political Science*, vol. 37, August 1993, 900–919 (with Richard Nadeau)

"The Transformation of the New Deal Party System: Social Groups, Political Ideology, and  
Changing Partisanship among Northern Whites, 1972–1988," *Political Behavior*, vol. 14,  
September 1992, 213–237 (with Edward G. Carmines)

"Partisanship and Group Support, 1952–1988," *American Politics Quarterly*, vol. 19, April 1991,  
189–210 (with Richard G. Niemi); edited version appears in Richard G. Niemi and Herbert F.  
Weisberg, eds., *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., CQ Press, 1993, 350–367

"Super Tuesday 1988: Regional Results, National Implications," *Publius: The Journal of  
Federalism*, vol. 19, Summer 1989, 19–37 (with Charles D. Hadley)

(continued)

## PUBLICATIONS: JOURNAL ARTICLES (continued)

- "Southern Partisan Changes: Dealignment, Realignment or Both?" *Journal of Politics*, vol. 50, February 1988, 64–88
- "The Southern Presidential Primary: Regional Intentions with National Implications," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 17, Summer 1987, 83–100 (with Charles D. Hadley)
- "Partisanship and Group Support over Time: A Multivariate Analysis," *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 80, September 1986, 969–976 (with William T. Bianco and Richard G. Niemi); edited version appears in Richard G. Niemi and Herbert F. Weisberg, eds., *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., CQ Press, 1993, 350–367
- "The Runoff: The Case for Retention," *PS*, vol. 18, Spring 1985, 231–236
- "Testing the Converse Partisanship Model with New Electorates," *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 18, October 1985, 300–322 (with Richard G. Niemi, G. Bingham Powell, and Charles Evans)
- "Age and Turnout among the Newly Enfranchised: Life Cycle versus Experience Effects," *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 12, 1984, 371–386 (with Richard G. Niemi and Charles Evans)

## PUBLICATIONS: BOOK CHAPTERS

- "Partisanship, Party Coalitions, and Group Support," Herbert F. Weisberg and Clyde Wilcox, eds., *Models of Voting in Presidential Elections: The 2000 Election*, Stanford University Press, forthcoming November 2003 (with Richard G. Niemi)
- "Alabama: Republicans Winning the Heart of Dixie," Charles S. Bullock III and Mark J. Rozell, eds., *The New Politics of the Old South: An Introduction to Southern Politics*, 2d ed., Rowman & Littlefield, 2002, 75–94
- "The South and the 2000 Presidential Election: A Solid Republican South?" Robert P. Steed and Laurence W. Moreland, eds., *The 2000 Presidential Election in the South: Partisanship and Southern Party Systems in the 21st Century*, 2002, Greenwood
- "The Nominations: The Return of the Party Leaders," Michael Nelson, ed., *The Elections of 2000*, CQ Press, 2001, 31–53
- "Alabama 1998: Luck Runs Out for GOP and Christian Right as Democrats Gamble on the Lottery," John Green, Mark J. Rozell, Clyde Wilcox, eds., *Prayers in the Precincts: The Christian Right in the 1998 Elections*, Georgetown University Press, 2000 (with Christian Grose), 145–162
- "Party Coalitions in Transition: Partisanship and Group Support, 1952–1996," Herbert F. Weisberg and Janet Box-Steffensmeier, eds., *Democracy's Feast: The U.S. Election of 1996*, Chatham House, 1998, 162–180, 252–253 (with Richard G. Niemi); edited version appears in Richard G. Niemi and Herbert F. Weisberg, eds., *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., CQ Press, 2001, 387–404
- "Alabama: Republicans Win the Heart of Dixie," Charles S. Bullock III and Mark J. Rozell, eds., *The New Politics of the Old South: An Introduction to Southern Politics*, Rowman & Littlefield, 1998, 67–83
- "The South and the 1996 Presidential Election: Republican Gains Among Democratic Wins," Laurence W. Moreland and Robert P. Steed, eds., *The 1996 Presidential Election in the South: Southern Party Systems in the 1990s*, Praeger, 1997, 223–243
- "The Nominations: Republican Doldrums, Democratic Revival," Michael Nelson, ed., *The Elections of 1996*, CQ Press, 1997, 14–43
- "The Parties, the President, and the 1994 Mid-term Elections," Colin Campbell and Bert Rockman, eds., *The Clinton Presidency: First Appraisals*, Chatham House, 1995, 188–211
- "The Southern Super Tuesday: Southern Democrats Seek Relief from Rising Republicanism?," William G. Mayer, ed., *In Pursuit of the White House: How We Choose our Presidential Nominees*, Chatham House, 1995, 158–189 (with Charles D. Hadley)
- "The Demise of the New Deal Coalition: Partisanship and Group Support, 1952–92," Herbert F. Weisberg, ed., *Democracy's Feast: The U.S. Election of 1992*, Chatham House, 1995, 220–240 (with Richard G. Niemi)

(continued)

## PUBLICATIONS: BOOK CHAPTERS (continued)

- "Party Activists in the South," in Charles D. Hadley and Lewis Bowman, eds., *Southern State Party Organizations and Activists*, Praeger, 1995, 201-210
- "The South and the 1992 Presidential Election," Robert P. Steed, Laurence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker, eds., *The 1992 Presidential Election in the South*, Praeger, 1994, 197-210
- "Surviving the 1992 Presidential Nomination Process," William Crotty, ed., *America's Choice: The Election of 1992*, Dushkin, 1993, 31-44, 186-189 (with Charles D. Hadley)
- "Assessing the Presidential Candidacies of Jesse Jackson," Paul M. Sniderman, Philip E. Tetlock, and Edward G. Carmines, eds., *Prejudice, Politics, and the American Dilemma*, Stanford University Press, 1993, 256-270
- "Partisanship and Group Support over Time," Richard G. Niemi and Herb Weisberg, eds., *Controversies in American Voting Behavior*, 3d edition, CQ Press, 1992, 350-367 (with Richard G. Niemi)
- "The Reagan Legacy and Party Politics in the South," Laurence W. Moreland, Robert P. Steed, and Tod A. Baker, eds., *The 1988 Presidential Election in the South*, Praeger, 1991, 21-33
- "Partisan Coalitions in the Electorate," L. Sandy Maisel, ed., *Political Parties and Elections in the United States: An Encyclopedia*, Garland, 1991, 720-730 (with William T. Bianco and Richard G. Niemi)
- "Blacks, the Biracial Coalition, and Political Change," Tod A. Baker, Charles D. Hadley, Laurence W. Moreland and Robert P. Steed, eds., *Political Parties in the Southern States: Party Activists and Partisan Coalitions*, Praeger, 1990, 43-64 (with Charles D. Hadley)
- "Ideological Realignment in the Contemporary South: Where Have All the Conservatives Gone?" Robert P. Steed, Laurence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker, eds., *The Disappearing South? Studies in Regional Change and Continuity*, University of Alabama Press, 1990, 21-33, 179-181 (with Edward G. Carmines)
- "Partisan Changes in the South: Making Sense of Scholarly Dissonance," Robert Swansbrough and David Brodsky, eds., *The South's New Politics: Realignment and Dealignment*, University of South Carolina Press, 1988, 238-252 (with David S. Castle)
- "Runoff Primaries and Black Political Influence," Robert P. Steed, Laurence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker, eds., *Blacks in Southern Politics*, Praeger, 1987, 259-276
- "The 1984 Presidential Election in the South: Race and Realignment," concluding chapter in Robert P. Steed, Laurence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker, eds., *The 1984 Presidential Election in the South: Patterns of Southern Party Politics*, Praeger, 1986, 303-335; abridged version appears in *The American South Comes of Age*, Jack Bass, Thomas E. Terrill, eds., Knopf, 1986, 284-288

## PUBLICATIONS: OTHER

- Review of Earl Black and Merle Black, *The Rise of Southern Republicans* (Harvard University Press, 2002) for the *American Political Science Review*, forthcoming
- "George Wallace," *American National Biography Online September 2000 Update*, Oxford University Press, [<http://www.anb.org/articles/07/07-00721.html>]
- "V.O.Key," *American National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 1999, volume 12, 640-641
- "Southern Bloc," in Donald C. Bacon, Roger H. Davidson, and Morton Keller, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the United States Congress*, Simon Schuster, 1995, 1854-1855
- "Southern Republicans: Have They Fallen and They Can't Get Up?" Comment on Gregory Thielemann, "Party Development in the South: The Case for Southern Exceptionalism," *Social Science Quarterly*, volume 73, March 1992, 136-140
- "Super Tuesday'—Did the South Gain?" (Baton Rouge) *Sunday Advocate*, 10 April 1988, 7b (with Charles D. Hadley)
- "Expect a Super Tuesday Muddle," *The New York Times*, 4 March 1988, 27 (with Charles D. Hadley)
- "Fair Shake, Fair Share," *The New Republic*, 30 November 1987, 39-41

## TEACHING FIELDS

American Government, Political Parties and Elections, Southern Politics, Data Analysis

## UNIVERSITY POSITIONS

Southern Methodist University, Geurin-Pettus Distinguished Chair in American Politics and Political Economy (2003- )  
University of Rochester, Professor (1998–2003); Chairman, Political Science (1996–1999); Associate Professor (1988–1998), Assistant Professor (1982–1988), Instructor (1979–1981)  
Southern Methodist University, Visiting Research Professor, 2000–2001  
University of Alabama, Visiting Research Professor, 1987–1988  
Yale University, Prize Teaching Fellow (1978–79), Lecturer (Spring 1978), Teaching Assistant (1975–1977, Fall terms)

## PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

American, Southern, and Midwest Political Science Associations; Political Organizations/Parties Group; Representation and Electoral Systems Group

## PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Southern Political Science Association, President, 2000–2001; President-Elect, 1999–2000  
American Political Science Association, Departmental Services Committee, 1998–2001; Chair 2000–2001  
American Political Science Association; Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior Section; Warren E. Miller Prize Committee, 1999–2000  
Southern Political Science Association, Strategic Planning Committee, Chair, 1998–2000  
Southern Political Science Association, Vice President and Program Chair, 1997–1998  
American Political Science Association, Artinian Fund Committee, 1997–1999  
Southern Political Science Association, Artinian Award Committee, 1997–1998  
*American Review of Politics*, Editorial Board, 1994–  
Southern Political Science Association, Executive Council, 1992–2002  
*Journal of Politics*, Editorial Board, 1991–2000  
Southern Political Science Association, Program Committee, 1987 and 1992 Convention  
Midwest Political Science Association, Program Committee, 1989 Convention  
Southern Political Science Association, V.O. Key Book Award Committee, 1986–1987, 1990, 1992–1993, 1995–1997

## CONSULTING

*Camacho v. Galvin* (Massachusetts), 2003–  
*Black Political Task Force v. Galvin* (Massachusetts), 2003–  
*Martinez v. Bush* (Florida), 2002  
*Rodriguez v. Pataki* (New York), 2002–  
*Douglas v. Alabama*, 2001–2002  
*Montiel v. Davis* (Alabama), 2001–2002  
*Leroux et al. v. Miller* (Michigan), 2001  
*O'Lear v. Miller* (Michigan), 2001  
*Wilson v. Jones* (Alabama), 2000  
*U.S. v. City of Lawrence* (Massachusetts), 1999–2002  
*NAACP v. Fordice* (Mississippi), 1998  
*Anthony vs. State of Michigan*, 1997–1999  
*Mississippi vs. Reno*, 1997–1998  
*Dutmer v. City of San Antonio* (Texas), 1996  
*Simpson v. City of Hampton* (Virginia), 1995  
*NAACP vs. Florence School District Number One* (South Carolina), 1995–1996  
*Negron v. Diaz* (Florida), 1995  
*H-FERA, et al. vs. City of Buffalo* (New York), 1994–  
*Coleman v. Ft. Pierce City Commission* (Florida), 1994  
*NAACP vs. Austin* (Michigan), 1993–1994

(continued)

## CONSULTING (continued)

- Mendoza vs. Salinas Valley Memorial District Hospital* (California), 1993  
*NAACP vs. City of Columbia* (South Carolina), 1993  
*NAACP vs. Kershaw County Board of County Commissioners* (South Carolina), 1992  
*De Grandy v. Wetherell* (Florida), 1992  
*Wesch v. Hunt* (Alabama), 1991–1992  
Attorney General, State of Virginia, 1991  
*Meek vs. Dade County* (Florida), 1991–1992  
*Suarez vs. School Board of Dade County* (Florida), 1991–1994  
*NAACP vs. City of Niagara Falls* (New York), 1991–1995  
*Johnson vs. DeSoto County Board of County Commissioners and School Board* (Florida), 1991–2000  
*Reed vs. Town of Babylon* (New York), 1990–1995  
*Goosby vs. Town Board of the Town of Hempstead* (New York), 1989–1998  
*Armstrong vs. Allain* (Mississippi), 1989–1993  
*NAACP vs. Charleston County School Board* (South Carolina), 1989–1990  
*NAACP vs. Charleston County Council* (South Carolina), 1989  
*McCray vs. Mississippi State Board of Election Commissioners*, 1988–1989  
*Concerned Citizens of Hardee County vs. Hardee County Board of Commissioners* (Florida), 1988–1989  
*Mississippi vs. U.S.*, 1988  
*NAACP vs. Richland County Council*, (South Carolina), 1988  
*Bradford County Branch of the NAACP vs. City of Starke, Florida*, 1987–1988  
*Smith vs. Clinton* (Arkansas), 1988  
*Whitfield vs. The Democratic Party of Arkansas* (Arkansas), 1988  
*McNeil v. Springfield Park District* (Illinois), 1988  
*United States of America vs. City of Augusta, Georgia* (Georgia), 1987–1988  
*Martin vs. Allain* (consolidated with) *Kirksey vs. Allain* (Mississippi), 1987  
*Burrell vs. Allain* (Mississippi), 1986  
*Tallahassee Branch of NAACP vs. Leon County* (Florida), 1986  
*Jackson vs. Edgefield County Board of Trustees* (South Carolina), 1986  
Gordon S. Black Associates, client statistical services, 1982



Appendix 2 (revised): Suffolk County House of Representatives Elections Analysis: Regression

Suffolk County House of Representatives District 2						
Type	Year	Party	Candidate	Race	Votes	
Primary	1996	Dem	McCabe	(W)	2,555	White
Primary	1996	Dem	O'Flaherty	(W)	2,706	18.66
Primary	1996		Blank/Other		198	7.74
Primary	1996				5,459	0.76
Primary	1996	Roll-on				***
Primary	1996	Turnout				26.40
Primary	1996					27.16
						Black
						-253.00
						91.20
						-5.60
						***
						-161.38
						-6.30
						-167.00
						Hispanic
						-14.90
						8.60
						0.30
						***
						-6.30
						-6.00
Suffolk County House of Representatives District 5						
Type	Year	Party	Candidate	Race	Votes	
Primary	1994	Dem	Golar Richie	(B)	893	White
Primary	1994	Dem	Roman	(W)	690	0.77
Primary	1994		Blank/Other		758	5.97
Primary	1994				2,341	-0.80
Primary	1994	Roll-on				***
Primary	1994	Turnout				6.74
Primary	1994					5.99
						Black
						5.93
						-0.10
						5.32
						***
						5.83
						11.13
						-2.64
						-1.00
						Hispanic
						-7.90
						5.26
						1.58
						***
						-2.64
						-1.00
						Black
						10.06
						7.84
						4.51
						17.90
						22.41
						Hispanic
						1.11
						1.45
						2.08
						2.56
						4.64
						Black
						10.89
						17.45
						4.29
						28.34
						32.53
						28.45
						35.56
						Black
						6.83
						6.11
						2.78
						4.45
						0.73
						-1.60
						***
						5.18
						3.58

Note: Explanatory notes appear on the last page.

Suffolk County House of Representatives District 5 (continued)

Type	Year	Party	Candidate	Race	Votes	White	Black	Hispanic
Sp.Prim.	1999	Dem	Lawton	(B)	361	0.87	1.69	-2.40
Sp.Prim.	1999	Dem	St. Fleur	(B)	1,009	6.68	1.53	6.66
Sp.Prim.	1999	Dem	Wheelier	(U)	67	-0.20	0.78	1.54
Sp.Prim.	1999	Dem	Garrison	(B)	303	1.13	1.22	2.99
Sp.Prim.	1999	Blank/Other			23	0.23	0.02	0.09
Sp.Prim.	1999				1,763			
Sp.Prim.	1999	Roll-on				8.48	5.22	8.79
Sp.Prim.	1999	Turnout				8.70	5.24	8.88
Sp.Gen.	1999	Rep	Fortes	(B)	210	0.72	0.92	3.02
Sp.Gen.	1999	Dem	St. Fleur	(B)	956	4.86	1.93	7.44
Sp.Gen.	1999	Ind	Huggins	(U)	66	0.19	0.31	-1.50
Sp.Gen.	1999	Blank/Other			13	0.02	0.05	0.30
Sp.Gen.	1999				1,245			
Sp.Gen.	1999	Roll-on				5.77	3.16	8.96
Sp.Gen.	1999	Turnout				5.78	3.22	9.29
General	2000	IndProgrPty	Garrison	(B)	1,609	2.49	10.76	11.12
General	2000	Dem	St. Fleur	(B)	4,466	21.90	18.13	26.80
General	2000	Blank/Other			1,634	4.44	10.48	6.31
General	2000				7,709			
General	2000	Roll-on				24.39	28.89	37.92
General	2000	Turnout				28.83	39.38	44.23
General	2002	Ind	Chaparro	(W)	463	3.43	0.55	2.47
General	2002	Dem	St. Fleur	(B)	4,037	8.72	22.15	23.03
General	2002	Blank/Other			1,445	4.02	6.46	7.75
General	2002				5,945			
General	2002	Roll-on				12.15	22.70	25.50
General	2002	Turnout				16.16	29.16	33.26

Suffolk County House of Representatives District 6

Type	Year	Party	Candidate	Race	Votes	White	Black	Hispanic
Primary	2000	Dem	Owens-Hicks	(B)	878	1.50	4.31	-1.20
Primary	2000	Dem	Shillingford	(B)	188	2.26	0.29	-0.10
Primary	2000	Blank/Other			165	2.08	0.19	2.27
Primary	2000				1,231			***
Primary	2000	Roll-on				3.76	4.60	-1.30
Primary	2000	Turnout				5.84	4.79	0.99

Note: Explanatory notes appear on the last page.

Suffolk County House of Representatives District 9

Type	Year	Party	Candidate	Race	Votes	White	Black	Hispanic
Primary	1998	Dem	Branson	(W)	670	1.74	1.89	5.38
Primary	1998	Dem	Walsh	(W)	866	2.71	1.30	2.94
Primary	1998	Dem	Rushing	(B)	2,163	3.40	18.56	14.92
Primary	1998		Blank/Other	(U)	457	0.75	2.57	6.77
Primary	1998				4,156			
Primary	1998	Roll-on				7.85	21.75	23.24
Primary	1998	Turnout				8.60	24.32	30.01
General	2000	LBR	Ashcroft	(W)	1,977	8.01	-2.90	-6.90
General	2000	Dem	Rushing	(B)	7,257	20.63	39.58	22.44
General	2000		Blank/Other		2,826	8.98	7.99	16.85
General	2000				12,060			
General	2000	Roll-on				28.64	36.68	15.54
General	2000	Turnout				37.62	44.63	32.39

Suffolk County House of Representatives District 11

Type	Year	Party	Candidate	Race	Votes	White	Black	Hispanic
General	1994	Dem	McDonough	(W)	5,421	39.51	3.31	-20.10
General	1994	Rep	Craffey	(W)	974	7.30	-0.10	-2.30
General	1994		Blank/Other		1,727	5.46	9.44	2.03
General	1994				8,122			***
General	1994	Roll-on				46.81	3.21	-22.40
General	1994	Turnout				52.27	12.63	-20.40
Sp.Gen.	1998	Rep	Craffey	(W)	178	1.66	-0.40	-1.00
Sp.Gen.	1998	Dem	Malia	(W)	1,254	10.81	-2.00	-5.70
Sp.Gen.	1998		Gonzalez	(H)	449	2.43	0.15	3.36
Sp.Gen.	1998		Blank/Other		8	0.04	0.00	0.10
Sp.Gen.	1998				1,889		***	***
Sp.Gen.	1998	Roll-on				14.90	-2.25	-3.34
Sp.Gen.	1998	Turnout				14.94	-2.30	-3.30
Primary	1998	Dem	Ladouceur	(W)	434	3.64	-0.70	-1.70
Primary	1998	Dem	Malia	(W)	1,180	10.14	-2.20	-7.30
Primary	1998	Dem	Wilson	(W)	75	0.30	0.02	1.27
Primary	1998		Blank/Other		4	0.02	0.00	0.08
Primary	1998				1,693		***	***
Primary	1998	Roll-on				14.08	-2.88	-7.73
Primary	1998	Turnout				14.10	-2.80	-7.60

Note: Explanatory notes appear on the last page.

Suffolk County House of Representatives District 11 (continued)								
Type	Year	Party	Candidate	Race	Votes	White	Black	Hispanic
General	1998		Malia	(W)	5,518	37.35	1.82	-15.20
General	1998		Craffey	(W)	727	4.96	0.02	-0.60
General	1998		Blank/Other		1,445	3.24	8.97	2.31
General	1998				7,690			***
General	1998	Roll-on				42.31	1.84	-15.80
General	1998	Turnout				45.55	10.81	-13.50
General	2000	Ind	Craffey	(W)	1,096	7.22	0.14	-1.20
General	2000	Dem	Malia	(W)	7,610	52.77	2.03	-14.60
General	2000		Blank/Other		3,164	5.80	21.16	12.03
General	2000				11,870			***
General	2000	Roll-on				59.99	2.17	-15.80
General	2000	Turnout				65.78	23.33	-3.80
Primary	2002	Dem	Malia	(W)	3,139	16.24	-4.90	-8.00
Primary	2002	Dem	Payne-Thompson	(B)	602	0.25	9.09	3.91
Primary	2002	Dem	McLaughlin	(W)	1,440	7.91	-4.30	-4.50
Primary	2002		Blank/Other		1,553	6.54	0.91	1.22
Primary	2002				6,734		***	***
Primary	2002	Roll-on				24.40	-0.11	-8.59
Primary	2002	Turnout				30.94	0.78	-7.40
Suffolk County House of Representatives "District 12" (District 13 in 1990)								
Type	Year	Party	Candidate	Race	Votes	White	Black	Hispanic
Primary	1990	Dem	Finneran	(W)	3,922	24.93	4.79	-168.00
Primary	1990		Bennett	(W)	781	2.66	2.96	3.24
Primary	1990		Johnson	(U)	423	2.08	1.02	.66
Primary	1990		Blank/Other		991	4.08	3.14	-3.00
Primary	1990				6,117			***
Primary	1990	Roll-on				29.67	8.77	-164.10
Primary	1990	Turnout				33.75	11.92	-167.00
General	1990	Dem	Finneran	(W)	5,959	33.22	11.35	-176.00
General	1990		Pearce	(W)	1,443	8.40	2.39	-30.00
General	1990		Blank/Other		1,411	5.99	4.32	-12.20
General	1990				8,813			***
General	1990	Roll-on				41.62	13.74	-206.00
General	1990	Turnout				50.02	18.06	-218.00
Suffolk County House of Representatives District 14								
Type	Year	Party	Candidate	Race	Votes	White	Black	Hispanic
General	1996	Dem	Scaccia	(W)	7,453	26.52	18.31	-4.40
General	1996	Rep	Donato	(W)	5,310	23.69	1.16	-26.40
General	1996		Blank/Other		1,257	4.25	3.32	1.69
General	1996				14,020			***
General	1996	Roll-on				50.21	19.47	-30.80
General	1996	Turnout				54.47	22.79	-29.10

Note: Explanatory notes appear on the last page.

Suffolk County House of Representatives District 15

Type	Year	Party	Candidate	Race	Votes	White	Black	Hispanic
Primary	1994	Dem	Fitzgerald	(W)	1,747	8.35	-0.40	-2.10
Primary	1994	Dem	Brookins	(W)	911	4.10	1.71	-3.40
Primary	1994		Blank / Other		860	2.29	6.59	1.24
Primary	1994				3,518		***	***
Primary	1994	Roll-on			12.45	1.31	1.31	-5.50
Primary	1994	Turnout			14.74	7.88	7.88	-4.20
General	1994	Dem	Fitzgerald	(W)	4,780	25.34	0.14	-6.90
General	1994	Rep	Whitney	(U)	807	4.81	-1.50	-3.70
General	1994		Blank / Other		2,040	5.55	14.33	5.89
General	1994				7,627		***	***
General	1994	Roll-on			30.15	-1.36	-1.36	-10.60
General	1994	Turnout			35.70	12.96	12.96	-4.70
General	1998	Dem	Fitzgerald	(W)	5,087	22.44	4.29	-3.60
General	1998		Whitney	(W)	572	2.54	0.76	-1.90
General	1998		Blank/Other		1,203	3.85	6.07	0.85
General	1998				6,862		***	***
General	1998	Roll-on			24.98	5.05	5.05	-5.50
General	1998	Turnout			28.82	11.12	11.12	-4.60
Primary	2002	Dem	Sanchez	(H)	1,656	6.87	-0.90	0.38
Primary	2002	Dem	Rudall	(W)	24	0.11	0.14	0.00
Primary	2002	Dem	Lopez	(H)	657	2.83	0.21	1.19
Primary	2002	Dem	Brookins	(W)	312	1.23	1.97	-0.40
Primary	2002	Dem	Giordano	(W)	947	4.69	-1.50	-3.90
Primary	2002	Dem	Allan	(W)	1,213	7.80	-14.70	-6.00
Primary	2002		Blank/Other		841	3.68	-0.50	-0.40
Primary	2002				5,650		***	***
Primary	2002	Roll-on			23.53	-14.78	-14.78	-8.73
Primary	2002	Turnout			27.20	-15.40	-15.40	-9.10
General	2002	Dem	Sanchez	(H)	6,095	31.27	-10.80	-2.70
General	2002	Ind	Chidi	(B)	1,101	5.31	-2.90	2.23
General	2002	Ind	Clifford	(W)	741	4.07	-1.40	-3.30
General	2002		Blank/Other		1,428	6.71	-2.60	-1.40
General	2002				9,365		***	***
General	2002	Roll-on			40.65	-15.10	-15.10	-3.77
General	2002	Turnout			47.36	-17.70	-17.70	-5.10

Notes: White refers to non-Hispanic, nonblack persons; "Black" to non-Hispanic black; and "Hispanic" to Hispanics whatever their racial designation. The numbers in these columns are percentages of the group's voting-age population estimated to have supported the candidate or ballot line indicated. "Roll-on" refers to the percentage of a group's voting-age population casting ballots for candidates in the contest ("blank/other" excluded). Turnout is the group's voting-age population percentage estimated to have turned out at the polls.

\*\*\* indicates unreliable estimates for a racial or ethnic group in a particular contest due to negative turnout, negative roll-on, or roll-on exceeding turnout.



**Appendix 3: Suffolk County House of Representatives Districts (2001 Plan), Total and Voting-age Populations, 2000 Census**

District	Total population			Voting-age population					
	Non-Hispanic Black			Hispanic			Non-Hispanic Black		
	Total	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Total	Number	Percent	Number
1 <sup>st</sup> Suffolk	39,053	1,636	4.2	15,110	38.7	29,995	1,070	3.6	10,692
2 <sup>nd</sup> Suffolk	41,602	2,275	5.5	15,778	37.9	31,461	1,466	4.7	10,175
3 <sup>rd</sup> Suffolk	37,954	3,542	9.3	2,679	7.1	34,842	3,053	8.8	2,116
4 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	39,082	2,982	7.6	3,479	8.9	31,511	1,883	6.0	2,097
5 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	37,911	21,534	56.8	7,803	20.6	24,758	13,847	55.9	4,792
6 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	38,977	31,451	80.7	5,964	15.3	25,378	20,916	82.4	3,391
7 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	38,371	18,192	47.4	6,088	15.9	30,553	13,012	42.6	3,857
8 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	39,368	3,531	9.0	2,379	6.0	35,959	2,750	7.6	1,976
9 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	39,060	6,272	16.1	5,003	12.8	35,813	4,878	13.6	3,856
10 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	38,671	1,376	3.6	1,560	4.0	31,089	945	3.0	1,090
11 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	37,831	8,980	23.7	9,953	26.3	29,254	6,301	21.5	6,522
12 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	38,833	21,088	54.3	2,119	5.5	28,710	14,931	52.0	1,347
13 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	38,288	11,220	29.3	3,055	8.0	28,523	7,495	26.3	1,949
14 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	38,749	12,438	32.1	6,274	16.2	28,505	8,033	28.2	3,994
15 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	38,423	6,284	16.4	7,397	19.3	31,414	4,601	14.6	5,084
16 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	40,077	1,361	3.4	4,628	11.5	31,600	920	2.9	3,001
17 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	38,277	2,177	5.7	3,662	9.6	34,867	1,709	4.9	2,901
18 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	37,856	1,606	4.2	3,000	7.9	34,332	1,237	3.6	2,378
19 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	39,541	1,112	2.8	3,371	8.5	31,306	764	2.4	2,299

Note: Ideal district total population size in 2000 census population was 39,682.